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ABSTRACT

This study examined the relationship of gender, sex role orientation, and work attitudes to the domestic division of labor in 141 working couples. Couples completed the Bem Sex Role Inventory and a questionnaire on the performance of household tasks. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) confirmed that working women performed a disproportionately larger number of tasks than did men ($p < .0001$) and androgynous and feminine oriented individuals performed more tasks than did masculine oriented individuals ($p < .05$). When tasks were categorized according to frequency (daily, weekly, monthly, yearly, and variable), a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) revealed that women performed significantly more of the daily, weekly, and variable tasks than did men ($p < .01$). A MANOVA indicated that women were motivated to perform more tasks than men because they believed that it was "my responsibility" or it "wouldn't get done otherwise," while men were more likely to perform tasks "to help" ($p < .0001$). More men than women perceived domestic tasks as "not my job" ($p < .05$). Career-oriented individuals were more likely to consider more tasks as "not my job" while exactly the opposite was true for job-oriented individuals ($p < .05$). ANOVA of degree of conflict surrounding tasks indicated that individuals who held a career orientation toward their work rather than a job orientation experienced more conflict ($p < .01$) and those with an androgynous orientation experienced significantly less conflict ($LSD=4.89$, $p < .05$). (Author)

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Domestic Division

Domestic Division of Labor and its Relationship to
Sex Role Orientation and Work Attitudes in Working Couples

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Running head: DOMESTIC DIVISION OF LABOR

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Abstract

This study examined the relationship of gender, sex role orientation and work attitudes to the domestic division of labor in 141 working couples. Couples completed the Bem Sex Role Inventory and a questionnaire on the performance of household tasks. ANOVA confirmed that working women still perform a disproportionately larger number of tasks than do men ($p < .0001$) and androgynous and feminine oriented individuals perform more tasks than masculine oriented individuals ($p < .05$). Further, when tasks are categorized according to frequency (daily, weekly, monthly, yearly, and variable), a MANOVA revealed that women still perform significantly more of the daily, weekly and variable tasks than men ($p < .01$). A MANOVA indicated that women are motivated to perform more tasks than men because they believe that it is my responsibility or it won't get done otherwise, while men are more likely than their partners to perform tasks to help ($p < .0001$). Also, more men than women perceived domestic tasks as not my job ($p < .05$). Further, career oriented individuals are more likely to consider more tasks as not my job while exactly the opposite is true for job oriented individuals ($p < .05$). Finally, ANOVA of degree of conflict surrounding these tasks indicated that individuals who held a career orientation toward their work rather than a job orientation experienced more conflict ($p < .01$) and those with an androgynous orientation experienced significantly less conflict ($LSD = 4.89, p < .05$). The implications of these findings are discussed.

The Relationship of Sex Role Attitudes and Work Attitudes
to Domestic Division of Labor in Working Couples

As the percentage of women in the working force has steadily increased over the last 30 years (England & Farkas, 1986), so has the study of these dual-career (Rapaport and Rapaport, 1971, 1976) and dual-worker families (Rapaport & Rapaport, 1978; Hood, 1983; Pleck, 1985). One would assume that as the responsibilities of women increased outside of the home, there would be a corresponding decrease in their domestic responsibilities. Yet research indicates that the management and execution of household duties is clearly still the major occupational role of women (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Oakley, 1975; Hartmann, 1981; Miller & Garison, 1982; Geerken & Gove, 1983; Scanzoni, 1978; Berk, 1985; Coverman and Sheley, 1986; Ross, 1987). In fact, it is estimated that contemporary wives contribute approximately 30 to 60 hours per week to household labor (Berk, 1985; Denmark, Shaw, & Ciali, 1985). While it is true that wives who also work outside the home do spend less time on household labor than their unemployed counterparts (Pleck, 1977; Berk & Berk, 1979; Geerken & Gove, 1983; Berk, 1985), it has been shown that working wives work many more hours than full-time housewives when total number of hours worked on the job and in the home are considered (Hedges & Barnett, 1972; Walker & Gauger, 1973; Walker & Woods, 1976). Further, Weingarten (1978) has shown that while the amount of time spent on tasks by working wives diminishes, the number of task areas for which she is responsible does not. And, many working wives must sacrifice much of their weekend free time to household labor (Robinson, 1977).

Husbands, on the other hand, spend about 10 to 20 hours a week on household tasks (Berk, 1985; Denmark, Shaw & Ciali, 1985). Also, according to Meissner (1977), they are more likely to perform tasks that have clear and identifiable boundaries (e.g., mowing the lawn), greater discretion in both how and when to complete the tasks (e.g., minor household repairs) and greater leisure components (e.g., playing with children). Also, the tasks performed by men tend to be less time consuming and do not need to be done on a regular basis (Beckman & Houser, 1979).

Given this inequitable state of affairs on the domestic labor scene, one might assume that this would be the arena for a great deal of marital conflict. Yet within the domestic labor studies, conflict over the division of labor is an important but understudied topic. A 1984 study (Booth, Johnson, White, and Edwards) found disagreements over division of household labor to be negatively related to marital satisfaction and marital stability. Berk (1985), in her study of wives only, found that wives voiced little difference of opinion over who should carry out which household tasks. In a recent study that used a multiple regression approach, Benin and Agostinelli (1988) found that the husband's perception of arguments over division of labor depended only on their satisfaction with the division of labor. For wives, on the other hand, the factors that emerged as significant were her satisfaction with the division of labor, her husband's satisfaction, and the proportion of women's traditional chores performed by her husband. Interestingly, the greater the husband's share of women's traditional tasks, the more frequent the arguments.

Another important area that is frequently noted but little studied relates to motives for undertaking domestic responsibilities. Oakley (1975) suggested that when men undertake household tasks, their motive is almost always simply to help rather than to take personal responsibility for them. While research on this is limited, there is some evidence to the effect that husbands' domestic task participation depends significantly upon their wives' availability (Berk, 1979; Berk & Berk, 1979) or the degree to which domestic task demands are placed on them (Coverman, 1985). That is, the less time the woman has available to perform domestic tasks and the more pressure that is exerted upon the husband, the more likely it is that he will assume more responsibility. Yet when his wife is again free, he reverts to old patterns (Berk, 1985).

How do we account for this inequitable state of affairs?

Traditionally, sociologists investigating this area have assumed that a high degree of subscription to traditional sex role norms in the United States is the primary cause of the existing division of domestic labor. Yet, research in this area is inconsistent. For example, it has been reported (Huber & Spitze, 1983; Ross, 1987; Stafford, Backman, & Dibona, 1977) that couples who hold more traditional sex role attitudes tended also to have a more traditional division of labor in the home regardless of whether the wife works. More recently, Ross (1987) has reported that while this is true for men, sex role attitudes of women have no significant effect. On the other hand, Geerken and Gove (1983) found that husbands' attitudes were not significantly related to the division of household labor. And, a recent study by Coverman (1985), utilizing data obtained from a large national probability sample, indicated that

adherence to an egalitarian sex role attitude was associated with a decrease in domestic labor time for men.

How are these inconsistent findings to be explained relative to sex role attitudes and participation in household labor? One possibility is that there has been a great deal of inconsistency in the measurement of these attitudes. Indeed, in the studies reviewed, sex role attitudes were assessed by as few as two questions and many used only five. Further, it seems possible that while one might hold a variety of attitudes that could be classified as either traditional or non-traditional in terms of sex role attitudes, there is no reason to believe that they are necessarily related to a particular sex role behavior such as participation in domestic labor.

A partial answer to this puzzle might lie in the approach that psychologists have taken to gender and sex role research. Typically, they have concentrated on identifying clusters of personality characteristics that distinguish individuals in terms of sex role orientation (Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). According to Bem's gender schema theory, masculinity and femininity are orthogonal dimensions that reflect one's instrumentality and expressivity, respectively. Central to her theory is the conceptualization of psychological androgyny, a term that denotes the integration of masculinity and femininity within a single individual (Bem, 1974, 1981). According to her theory, individuals can be identified as masculine, feminine, androgynous or undifferentiated. This latter categorization designates individuals who are low on both the masculine and feminine dimensions.

While a relationship between one's sex role orientation and participation in household labor seems obvious, surprisingly, this remains an area that has been little researched by psychologists. A study by Denmark and her colleagues (Denmark et al., 1985) investigated the relationship between sex role identity and the division of household responsibilities using the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI). Unfortunately, their subjects were dichotomized only as masculine males or other males and feminine females or other females. For males, 'other' meant androgynous, feminine, or undifferentiated and for females, it meant androgynous, masculine or undifferentiated. They reported that while masculine males spent significantly less time on housework than other males, feminine females did not differ significantly from other females in their involvement in household tasks.

Based on our review of the current research then, we conclude that regardless of employment status, women still assume the major responsibility for household tasks. Research that has investigated the role played by sex role attitudes has been conflicting and the effects of sex role orientation have not been well investigated. Little is understood about the motives of couples in terms of their participation or non-participation in these tasks nor of the role one's work orientation might play. Finally, conflict surrounding the division of household labor among working couples is not well understood.

The present study sought to investigate the relationship of sex role orientation and work attitudes to three aspects of domestic division of labor among working couples. Specifically, we were interested in who performed which domestic tasks, their motivations for doing or not doing them, and the amount of conflict surrounding the execution of these

tasks. The following hypotheses were formulated based upon our review of the findings of previous works:

1. Women would perform significantly more domestic tasks than their husbands even when the tasks are grouped into categories based upon how frequently they must be performed.

2. Androgynous and feminine oriented individuals, regardless of sex, would perform more domestic tasks than would masculine oriented individuals. This is based on the assumption that many household tasks call directly on expressive skills.

3. When men performed domestic tasks, their motivation would be viewed by them as an effort to help their mates rather than as a fulfillment of personal or familial responsibility. Women, on the other hand, would more likely perform tasks because they viewed each as their job or because it wouldn't get done otherwise.

4. Job-oriented individuals and androgynous and feminine oriented individuals would be more likely than other (career-oriented, masculine oriented) to view domestic tasks as their responsibility.

5. Women would perceive more conflict surrounding household tasks than their husbands.

6. Androgynous and feminine oriented individuals would experience less conflict over the execution of domestic tasks than would masculine oriented individuals, and job oriented individuals would experience more conflict than would career oriented individuals.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were 141 married couples from the Tampa Bay area of Florida. They ranged in age from 22 to the late 50's. All were from the

middle class, covering the entire range from lower-middle to upper-middle class. Approximately 20 percent were professionals (i.e., teachers, professors, physicians, attorneys, nurses), while the remaining 80 percent were about evenly divided between white collar (sales, etc.) and blue collar workers. The level of education ranged from completion of 10th grade to the doctorate (Ph.D., M.D.). All worked full-time (minimum of 40 hours).

Measures

A 36-item questionnaire was developed that included tasks which are traditionally sex-typed as feminine (e.g., laundry and cleaning), masculine (e.g., mowing the lawn and servicing the automobile) and neutral (e.g., paying bills, civic responsibilities). On each of the 36 items respondents were asked to estimate their degree of involvement with each task (i.e., who usually did it), their motivation for their involvement or lack of involvement in these tasks, and the amount of perceived conflict surrounding the completion of these tasks in their households. Also included in the questionnaire were questions relative to demographic characteristics and a question concerning their attitude toward their out-of-the-home employment. The principal measures were as follows:

Degree of task involvement. The degree of task involvement was rated on a 4-point scale varying from (1) I always do it, to (4) I never do it. In calculating involvement for any particular task, an individual was rated as involved if they claimed to usually or always perform it.

Motivation for task involvement. Motives for performing each task were rated as either (1) I do it because it's my job, (2) I do it because

it won't get done otherwise, (3) I do it to help out, and (4) It's not my job.

Perceived conflict surrounding task. Perceived conflict surrounding the performance of domestic tasks were rated on a 4-point scale ranging from (1) no conflict to (4) much conflict. Possible scores ranged from 36 to 144.

Work attitudes. Subjects were rated as career oriented if they saw their work outside the home as constituting a career. They were rated as job oriented if they indicated that they considered their work as simply something to add to the family income.

Sex role orientation. Sex role orientation was measured by the Short BSRI (Bem, 1981). This 30-item form of the BSRI is reported to be highly reliable and is widely used in current research. It yields a masculinity and femininity score and subjects are classified into one of four sex role groups on the basis of a median split.

Procedure

The completion of the BSRI and the questionnaire was carried out by both partners independently. Subjects were informed of the nature of the study after completion of the questionnaires.

Results

Degree of Task Involvement

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) for task involvement controlling for the effects of sex, sex role orientation and career orientation found significant main effects for sex ($F = 66.028$, $df = 1, 272$, $p < .0001$) and sex role orientation ($F = 2.652$, $df = 3, 272$, $p < .05$). As depicted in Figure 1, women obtained significantly higher task performance scores than men. Further, individuals with an androgynous and feminine

orientation ($LSD = 2.78$, $df = 258$, $p < .05$) obtained significantly higher task performance scores than did individuals with a masculine orientation.

 Insert Figure 1 about here

When tasks were grouped into the categories of daily, weekly, monthly, yearly and variable according to their frequency of execution and a multiple analysis of variance (MANOVA) controlling for sex, sex role orientation and career was performed, a significant multivariate F (5,273) = 9.54, $p < .01$, emerged. Significant univariate F 's for daily ($F = 28.26$, $df = 1,257$, $p < .0001$), weekly ($F = 21.69$, $df = 1,257$, $p < .0001$) and variable tasks ($F = 34.96$, $df = 1,257$, $p < .0001$) also emerged. Figure 2 depicts the means for these categories by gender.

 Insert Figure 2 about here

Motivation to Perform Tasks

A MANOVA was performed on the task motivation scores controlling for sex, sex role orientation and attitude towards work. Significant multivariate F 's emerged for the main effects of sex ($\text{mult } F = 6.55$, $df = 5,253$, $p < .0001$) and work orientation ($\text{mult } F = 2.58$, $df = 5,253$, $p = .05$). Also a significant interaction for sex x sex role orientation emerged, $\text{mult } F (1,15) = 1.85$, $p < .05$). For the main effect of sex, all univariate F 's were significant. As depicted in Table 1, women were more likely than men to perform tasks because they regarded them as my job, $F (1,272) = 16.39$, $p < .0001$, or because they won't get done otherwise

$F(1,272)=20.64, p<.001$. Men, on the other hand, were more likely than women to perform tasks to help, $F(1,272)=29.27, p<.0001$, or to regard tasks as not my job, $F(1,272)=16.39, p<.0001$.

Insert Table 1 about here

The interaction of sex by sex role orientation can be seen in Figure 3. As can be seen, androgynous and feminine oriented males as compared to masculine oriented males were more motivated to perform household tasks because they won't get done otherwise, $F(3,272)=2.87, p<.05$, LSD (257)=3.18, $p<.05$.

Insert Figure 3 about here

The effect of work orientation upon one's motivation to perform domestic tasks is also shown in Table 1. It can be seen that individuals who considered their work as a job claim to perform more household tasks because they won't get done otherwise than those who take a career orientation towards their outside employment. On the other hand, significantly more individuals with a career orientation considered certain tasks as not my job than did those with a job orientation.

Conflict over Household Tasks

ANOVA performed on the domestic conflict scores as a function of sex, sex role orientation and work orientation was significant for career orientation ($F = 7.60, df = 1,271, p<.01$) and sex role orientation ($F = 7.23, df = 1,271, p<.001$). Individuals with a career orientation experienced higher conflict scores ($m = 46.58$) than did those with a job

orientation ($\bar{m} = 43.70$). Secondly, as Figure 4 indicates, individuals with an androgynous orientation experienced less conflict than those with an undifferentiated orientation, $LSD = 4.89$, $df = 271$, $p < .05$.

Insert Figure 4 about here

Discussion

While many of the findings of this study are not surprising, judging from the proliferation of studies now concerned with the division of domestic labor. On the other hand, in social science it often seems to require an elaboration of the obvious to uncover the not-so-obvious. As expected, our first hypothesis was strongly supported. That is, not only do working women still perform the majority of domestic tasks, they also perform the majority of daily (e.g., cooking, washing dishes, caring for children), weekly (e.g., washing clothes, mowing yard, cleaning house), and variable (e.g., purchasing birthday gifts, planning social gatherings, writing to friends and relatives) tasks. This method of classifying household labor was undertaken in an attempt to control for the possibility that the degree of task involvement (frequency and intensity), which we felt might be obfuscated for both genders by the simple addition of the numbers of tasks performed by each. This proved to be a fruitful approach because it revealed not only that women perform more of the domestic tasks but also those that are more time-consuming overall, of greatest immediate necessity, or, in the Parsonian sense, more expressive. This finding is consistent with those of other investigators (Berk, 1985; Meisner, 1977). Interestingly, those tasks that tend to be more equally shared by couples, specifically monthly

tasks (e.g., paying bills, balancing the checkbook, auto maintenance) and yearly tasks (e.g., vacation arrangements, preparing income taxes, Christmas shopping), are less pressing and immediate in nature and therefore allow for greater discretion in carrying them out. These findings also point to the possible emergence of a new trend in the role of the working woman on the domestic scene. That is, it suggests that as women have moved into the workplace, they have also assumed more of the instrumental responsibilities in the home as well. Traditionally, such responsibilities as balancing the checkbook and paying the bills have been viewed as belonging to the male. It is of note that such a trend was forecast by Scanzoni (1972, 1978) in his ongoing analyses of sex roles.

Our second hypothesis was also supported. As we had proposed, both androgynous and feminine oriented individuals performed more domestic tasks than masculine oriented individuals. This finding linking an androgynous orientation to performance of more household tasks is an important addition to the ever increasing literature on the characteristics and behaviors attributable to androgynous individuals. As noted earlier, Denmark and her colleagues (1985) had dichotomized their subjects into 'sex-typed' and 'other' individuals only, so this is the first study to our knowledge to investigate the problem in relation to the Bem (1981) four-fold typology.

Third, the motivation for performing domestic tasks was an important aspect of this study. As hypothesized, our study found that women as compared to men took on a far greater number of tasks because they viewed them as their job. However, a significant number of women as compared to men also reported that they perform these tasks only because

they won't get done otherwise. Men, on the other hand, were much more likely than women to report that the tasks were not my job or that they do it to help. These findings confirm the findings of Oakley (1975), who suggested that when males perform domestic tasks, it is often to assist rather than because of a sense of personal responsibility. The role of the male as an assistant on the domestic scene has been even more dramatically highlighted by Voydanoff (1988) who reported that even fathering is often undertaken by men to render temporary assistance to their wives.

Fourth, this study investigated the part that sex role orientation and work orientation played in the motivation to perform domestic tasks. As regards the relationship between sex role orientation and division of domestic labor, we had hypothesized that androgynous and feminine oriented individuals would be more likely than undifferentiated and masculine oriented individuals to view domestic tasks as their responsibility. While this part of the hypothesis was not supported, our findings did point to some interesting differences between males and females in this regard. Specifically, among males, androgynous and feminine oriented individuals as compared to sex-typed males were more likely to perform tasks because they won't get done otherwise. On the other hand, among all women, undifferentiated women were the most likely to perform tasks because they won't get done otherwise, and significantly more so than masculine oriented women. What this suggests is that while androgynous and feminine oriented males do not necessarily see these tasks as their job, they will assume responsibility if their mate does not. We view these findings as significant because they seem to suggest the sense of responsibility that these males have concerning household

tasks. On the other hand, we interpret our findings concerning the undifferentiated female as merely helping to explain why overall more women than men indicated that their motivations to perform domestic tasks was because it won't get done otherwise. Apparently all women, and androgynous and feminine oriented men, find it difficult to escape these tasks even if they do not feel them to be their personal responsibility.

Our data partially supported the hypothesis that job oriented individuals would be more likely than career oriented individuals to view domestic tasks as their responsibility in that it found that career oriented individuals were more likely than those with a job orientation to view certain tasks as not my job. On the other hand, job oriented individuals were more likely than career oriented individuals to perform tasks because they won't get done otherwise. Work outside the home may be viewed by the individual as a career, with all the implications that go with that designation, or simply as a job undertaken to add to the family income. Whatever one's orientation, it is likely to have some effect on performance of household tasks. It is well known that non-working women assume almost all responsibilities for household tasks, but these data, and that of other researchers, suggest as well that this is true also for individuals who are employed outside the home and especially for those who see their employment as simply a job rather than a career. Conversely, regardless of gender, those who see their work as a career tend to deny personal responsibility for household tasks. What this may suggest is a resistance on the part of males to relinquish what Bernard (1981) called the 'provider role' and a growing willingness of women to assume it.

Our fifth hypothesis linking gender to the degree of conflict over household tasks was not supported. We had assumed that the lack of sharing of domestic tasks by males would contribute to accumulated resentment by females and would manifest itself by reports of more conflict by women than men. Such was not the case, as no significant differences in conflict by gender were reported. The explanation for this non-finding is difficult to explain, but it is possible that it is an artifact of our operationalization of this variable. On all 36 domestic tasks we had merely asked participants to indicate the amount of conflict that surrounded each of them in their household. It is therefore possible that while there was little overt conflict expressed in any household, internal anger and resentment could actually be much higher. This interpretation is partially supported by the low overall conflict that was reported in this study.

Our last hypothesis linking conflict to sex role orientation and work orientation was partially supported. As expected, individuals with a career orientation (as opposed to job orientation) toward their work recognized and reported more conflict surrounding household tasks regardless of gender. It may be assumed that persons whose interest in their occupation is intrinsic (rather than extrinsic or instrumental) will focus more of their psychological energy on their outside employment than will those for whom it is an activity in which they have little of themselves really invested. Also, as expected, androgynous individuals tended to report less conflict than others and significantly less than those with an undifferentiated orientation. This finding adds to those in the growing literature on the positive aspects of the androgynous orientation.

Conclusion

Several of the findings reported here support those of other published literature. Specifically we found that most domestic tasks are done by women even when women are employed full-time outside the home. The categorization of tasks according to the frequency of their occurrence produced a finding that many have suspected. That is, women not only perform more of the tasks, but they also perform those tasks that are required to be done most frequently.

This study also sheds some light on the motivational factors operating when men and women undertake or fail to undertake domestic tasks. It appears that women are more likely than men to view domestic tasks as their own responsibility or feel that if they don't do them, the tasks simply will not get done. To the extent that this is true, it suggests both that women may hold more strongly to the basic values required to keep the household going smoothly (i.e., cleanliness, orderliness, responsibility), but also that these same values carry with them the price of inequality in domestic tasks, in leisure, and in an important sense, overall fairness. The majority of men on the other hand apparently engage in these tasks merely to help and many of them do not become involved because they simply do not feel it is their job. Obviously, this is an area that is just now being recognized as an important for research by scholars in the fields concerned with these issues.

An important part of this study was the examination of the role played by an androgynous sex role orientation for the domestic labor scene. First, it was found that androgynous and feminine oriented individuals performed more domestic tasks than masculine oriented individuals regardless of gender. Secondly, it was shown that

androgynous individuals, again regardless of gender, tended to experience less conflict over domestic tasks than those with other sex role orientations and significantly less than those with an undifferentiated orientation. These two findings add to others in the ever-increasing literature on the positive aspects of this orientation.

Finally, while this study failed to uncover significant conflict between husbands and wives over the execution of these tasks, it may be an artifact of our instrument. In retrospect, perhaps we should have focused more on the intensity of feelings about the arrangement as our measure of conflict rather than the simple report of its existence. It is always possible that adjustment to an unwanted circumstance may require resigned acceptance of the status quo. It is important to note, however, that even with the present measure, conflict was found to be significantly higher in those cases in which the individuals viewed their employment as a career rather than simply a job.

Another possible weakness in the study is that we analyzed the data for men and women categorically rather than viewing them as members of a couple. This latter technique might have provided a more thorough understanding of the relationship between the variables investigated here, specifically as they are affected by the degree of couple agreement on reported tasks. It is possible that there was some exaggeration, as well as denial, of contributions by self and other by both males and females. On the other hand, that is another, and entirely different, set of questions.

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Figure 1. Mean number of tasks performed as a function of sex and sex role orientation.

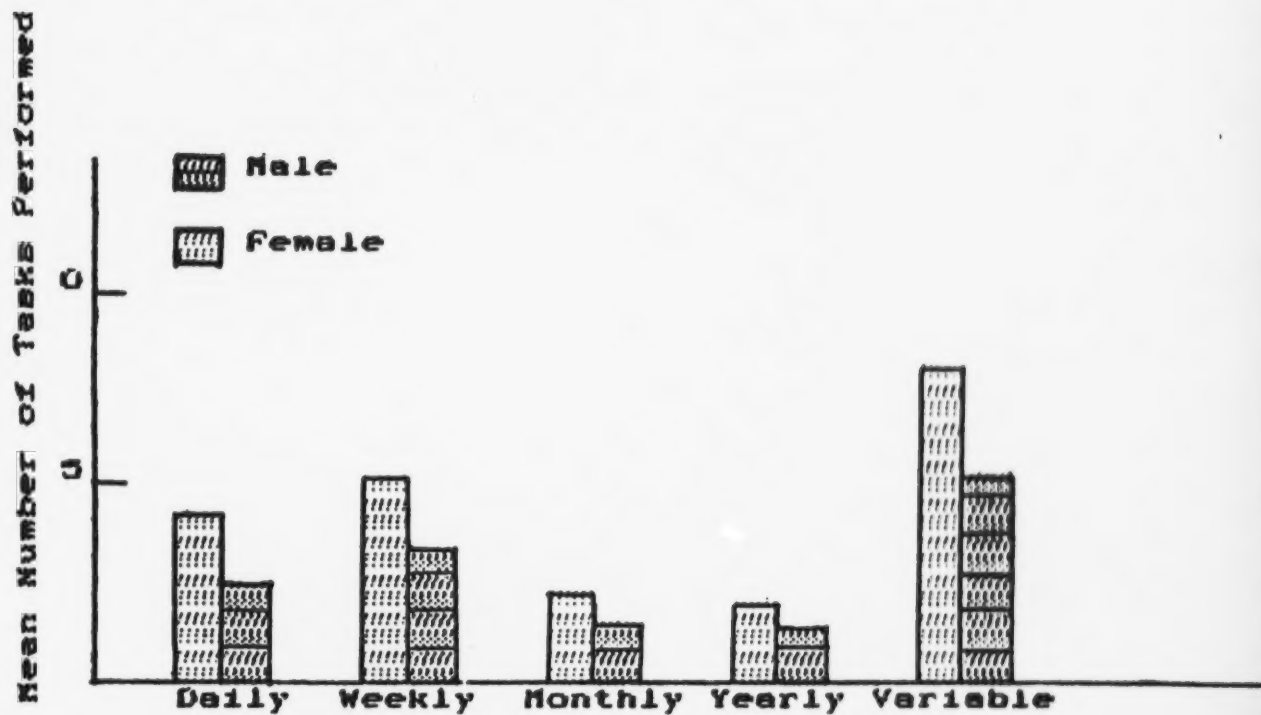


Figure 2. Mean number of tasks performed as a function of sex and task frequency.



Figure 3. Mean number of responses to the motive it won't get done otherwise as a function of sex and sex role orientation.

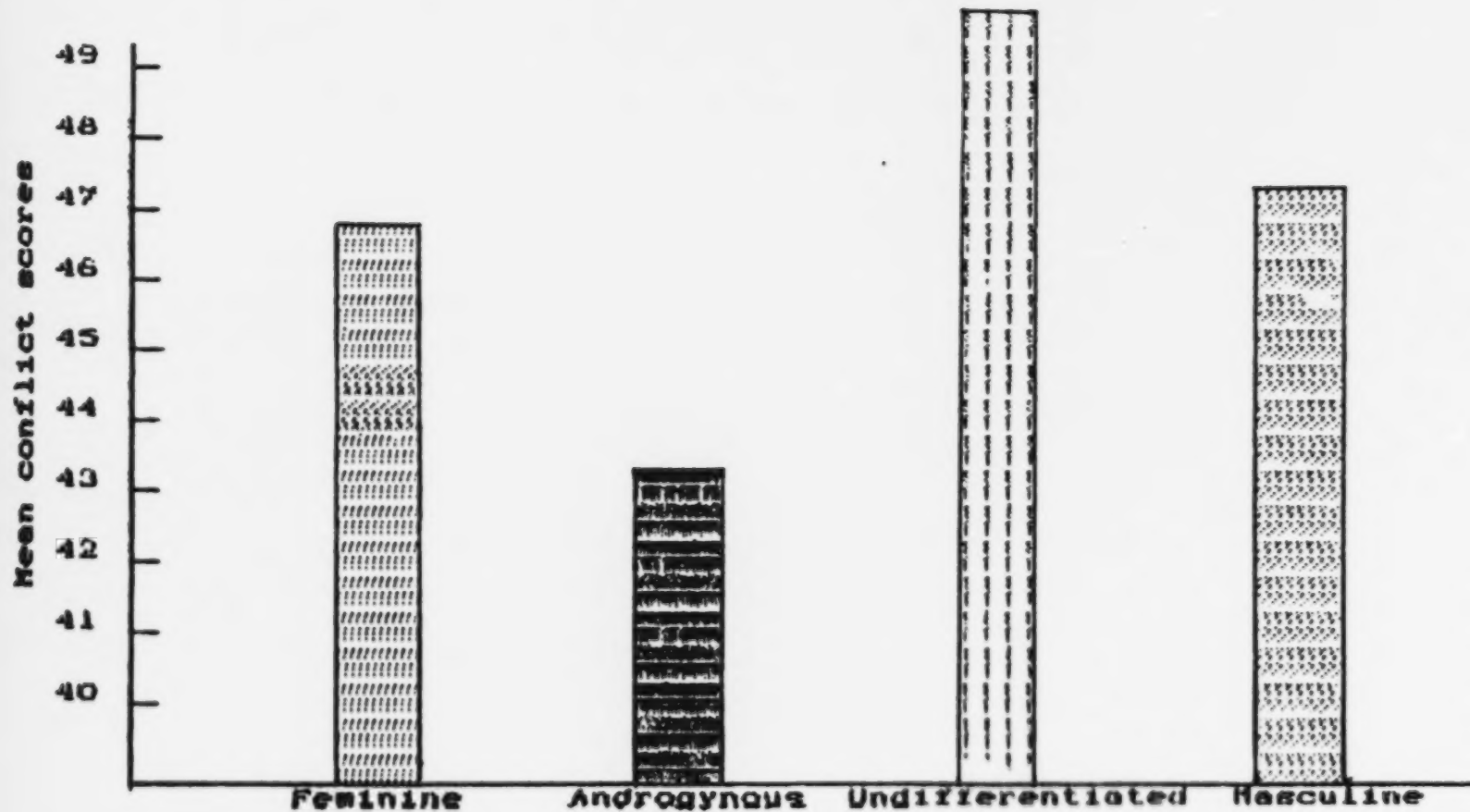


Figure 4. Mean conflict scores as a function of sex role orientation.

Table 1

Mean Motivation for Performing Domestic Tasks as a
Function of Sex and Career Orientation

Motivation	<u>n</u>	Females	<u>n</u>	Males
My Job	134	7.98	139	6.77*
Won't Get Done Otherwise	134	10.72	139	6.32**
Do It To Help	134	6.60	139	10.79**
Not My Job	134	2.59	139	4.78**
	<u>n</u>	Career	<u>n</u>	Job
My Job	209	7.69	64	6.30
Won't Get Done Otherwise	209	7.70	64	11.03*
Do It To Help	209	8.87	64	8.30
Not My Job	209	4.10	64	2.42*

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .0001$